2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

Marriage.—There is much premarital license for girls, who are abducted into the men's club. Apart from moiety exogamy and preferential clan unions, the kinship nomenclature suggests marriage with the father's eldest sister's daughter and with the father's younger sister. The actual occurrence of such arrangements, however, is as yet undemonstrated. On the other hand, sororal bigamy and the simultaneous marriage with a woman and her daughter by a previous husband are observed facts. Residence is matrilocal.

Death observances.—A dying person (das Garças group) is smeared with urucú amid feminine lamentations. The corpse is covered and must no longer be seen by the women and children. Kinsfolk gash themselves, so as to make the blood trickle on the bier. Indoors a long chant begins to the accompaniment of gourd rattles. The dead person is wrapped and tied in a mat with all his possessions, including his broken bow and arrows. At sunset the body is taken to the men's club, where the chiefs chant and shake their rattles all night. After a brief rest in the morning, the song is resumed and continues until sunset. Near the club the young men prepare a shallow provisional grave. The mourners again wail, gash themselves, tear out or cut their hair, and spatter blood on the burial. Until the close of the mourning period, male relations avoid urucú and kinswomen put on a special girdle.

Mortuary rites are combined with other ceremonies. On the eve of the burial the people organize a hunt in honor of the dead, the game being brought to the bereaved and communally eaten. A mourner gives to the valiant hunter of the opposite moiety the hairs he has plucked from his head and a gourd trumpet. Both the hair and the gourd represent the deceased person's soul (aroe). For a fortnight chanting continues in the mourners' hut, then the flesh is removed from the corpse. Young men now impersonate the mythical hero Mariddo (pl. 87), who danced for hours with a heavy bundle on his head, their vain efforts to emulate this feat arousing general hilarity as the parcel falls to the ground. At this juncture bull-roarers are wielded, representing a large mythical beast. The hunter reappears in a disguise as the dead man's representative and the mourners lead him from the club. Women and children would die at sight of either him or the bull-roarer. On the other hand, this is precisely the time for initiating boys deemed old enough. Accordingly, several nude youths plastered with mud represent the mythical animal and, after caressing the hunter, frighten the novices with yells and pelt them with mud before allowing them to see the bull-roarers. Thus the funeral rites involve a boys' initiation.

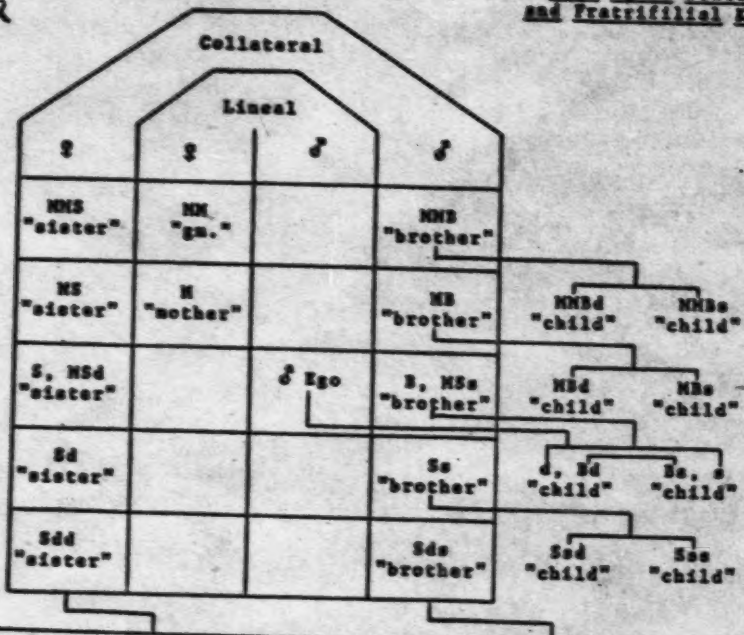
After a night's chanting, the corpse is unwrapped, the bones spread out, washed in a stream, and then carried to the club, where the souls

Table IV

*601
● 602

Male Ego's Uterine Kin:

Male Ego's Filial and Fratrifilial Kin:



All of these "sisters" are like mothers when Ego reckons to their children; for the children of all of them are his "brothers" and "sisters". [This covert equivalence is common to Crow-type systems, in relation to male Ego, except that it does not normally apply to MS and MMS, who are normally "mother" and "grandmother" rather than "sister", because the equivalence of parallel siblings (the merging rule) usually takes priority over the equivalence of sister to mother (the skewing rule).]

All of these "brothers" are like Alter Egos to male Ego when he reckons to their children; for the children of all of them are also his "children", and he is a "father" to them. [This is a usual equivalence in Crow-type systems of types II and IV.]

Table V

*601
• 602

Female Ego's Uterine Kin:

Female Ego's Patrilineal Kin and Nonuterine grandchildren:

Collateral	Lineal				
♀	♀	♂	♂		
MMS "sister"	MM "gm."		MMB "brother"		
MS "sister"	M "mother"		MB "brother"	MMBd "gd."	MMBs "gs."
S, MSd "sister"	♀ Ego		B, MSs "brother"	MBd "gd."	MBs "gs."
Sd "sister"	d "child"	s "child"	Ss "brother"	Sd "gd."	Ss "gs."
Sdd "sister"	dd "gd."	ds "gs."	Sds "brother"	Sdd "gd."	Sds "gs."

All of these "sisters" are like mothers, even to female Ego, when Ego reckons to their children; for the children of all of them are her "brothers" and "sisters". [This equivalence is a rarity in Crow-type systems in relation to female Ego, because the equivalence of parallel siblings (the merging rule) usually takes priority over the equivalence of sister to mother (the skewing rule). The Bororo system reverses the priorities.]

All of these "brothers" are like sons to female Ego when she reckons to their children; for the children of all of them are her "grandchildren", and she is a "grandmother" to them. [This is the usual equivalence in Crow-type systems of types III and IV.]

Table VI

*601
● 602

Father's Uterine Kin:		Father's Filial and Fratrifilial Kin:	
♀	♂		
FM, FMS "grandmother"	FMB "father"		
FS "grandmother"	F, FB "father"	FMBd "sister"	FMBs "brother"
FSd "grandmother"	FSs "father"	S, Fd, FBd "sister"	S, Fs, FBs "brother"
FSdd "grandmother"	FSds "father"	FSsd "sister"	FSss "brother"

These equivalences are all common to the stronger varieties of Crow-type systems (types III and IV).

*601 clan as Birimodo

V is Ivagududogedu, i.e., he belongs to the same moiety as Birimodo.

Thus genealogically related persons are classified according to covert equivalences between particular genealogical positions, while the extension of kin terms to larger social groups is done by categorical extensions.

*601 It should be also pointed out that the degree of rights
602 and duties changes as the meaning of the terms becomes broader. The obligation to feed someone, to care for him, or mourn his death becomes less and less binding as the term is extended to persons further removed from the genealogical focus.

*601 To the preceding discussion it should be added that the term imana (older brother) is also used in reference to senior male members of one's own lineage to whom genealogical connections cannot be traced because they have lived in some distant village. (I am aware that a more appropriate term for Bororo-type lineages would be sub-sub-clan, but the term is too clumsy.) The reason for calling them brothers, the Bororo say, is because they belong to the same lineage. This is the same explanation as that which was given for subclan, clan and moiety "brothers" (Z, W, V). But for lineage brothers kinship terms are obligatory as they are for genealogically related persons (X and Y).

The following diagram presents the summary of semantic analysis of the adjectives as they are suffixed to Ego's senior and junior kinsmen:

	Senior	Junior
∅	Formality Addressee relatively young	Formality Addressee relatively old
Pega	Old addressee (Affection)	Affection
Rogu	True kinsman	Young Addressee (True kinsman)
Pega-rogu	Very old addressee Compassion	Very young addressee Compassion

The Bororo, however, do not use the combinations illustrated in the diagram for all theoretically possible kin types. For example, HB, who may be a young child, will be always addressed formally, as will the class of inodowu ("stepfather"). The diagram on page 59 illustrates the matchings of kin terms with the different adjectives that are normally used. The diagram does not include some special cases related to changes of kinship terms in connection with death. For example, if the living representative of one's dead son is older than Ego, he may be addressed as itonaregedu pega. An ironic use of imuga rogu and imarugo pega-rogu will be taken up later in discussing kinship terminology used for joking.

*601
602

	"grand-father" and "mother"	"sibling"	"grand-mother" and "father"	"grand-child" and "child"	
pega rogu	+	+	+		Senior
pega	+	+	+		
rogu		+			
0	+	+	+	+	
0	+	+	+	+	Junior
rogu		+	+	+	
pega			+	+	
pega rogu			+	+	

[562] The two subclasses "man" or "male" (imedu) and "woman" or "female" (aredu) are not included in the diagram because the application of the adjective to them follows the same rules as for "younger siblings" and "children."

*601
561 The kinship terms can receive further specifications. The most important among these are those used in connection with relative age or the birth order of siblings. Ego will describe his or her sibling born before him either as itododaiwu ("the one before me"), or pebutoiiagiwu ("the one born before me"), or ikodurekodaiiwu ("the one whom I follow"). He will describe his sibling born after him either as

*601 The rules mentioned above are not valid if the choice
● 602 is between a close and a more distant genealogical relation, or between a genealogically extended and a categorically extended kinship term. In this case precedence is given to the term traced through the closest genealogical link. Thus, for example, if Ego's true father's sister's daughter is married to his clan "brother" or moiety "brother," Ego will continue to call her imarugo. If the link in both positions are Ego's kinsmen only by social extensions, the choice of the term is arbitrary and left to the will of the parties involved.

*601 Another conflict may arise between a kin term and the
603 actual role that somebody plays towards a kinsman. The most frequent case is that of the father's mother or father's sister who is called imuga, "mother," instead of imarugo, "grandmother," by a child. This usually happens when the child's true mother dies and there is no other woman of her lineage who can take care of the child, or when the mother is living but the child feels more at home with his paternal relatives. In both cases the child is raised by his father's mother or by his father's sister, and he addresses them and refers to them and their husbands in accordance with the actual role they sustained with him. However, the use of the terms is regarded as a nice fiction. The child never becomes a clan or moiety member of his acquired mother and his actual genealogical connections are never obscured.

*601 the change of sex if the dead person was a woman.
768
616 Not all the informants agree on the exact rules for these changes. For example, some say that the dead woman's younger siblings will call the representative imana (a man's older brother) or ivuri (a woman's older brother). Others say that only male siblings will call him imana, while the female siblings will call him by the same term their "mother" uses, i.e., itonaregedu (child). Only when the representative fulfills his duty and kills one of the established animals for retribution, mori, will he become their older brother, [602] evuri. The representative will inherit all the relations in the dead person's kin group, and he will provide his new mother with meat and fish to be cooked for the "meal of the [593] spirits." The relationships between him and the siblings of the dead usually become looser with time, but the bond between the new mother and the new son persists throughout their lives.

Also the wife or husband of the deceased are temporarily [764] called by different terms. Throughout the period of the funeral ceremonies they are called and referred to by all the people participating in the ceremonies as respectively "my mother" and "my father." The widow and widower help the "mother" and "father" in carrying out their ceremonial duties.

Terms Used in Songs and Crying

*601 A different set of terms, which are considered more po-
533 etic, are used in songs and in crying for a dead relative:
765
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587 593 die soon and he wants him (the brother) to have his wife; he should take care of her as he himself did, and look after his children too so nobody will take the food from their mouths. After that the brother will go to fish and hunt for the sick man, and, when the latter dies and all his funeral ceremonies are over, the brother will take his place as the husband. The Bororo find this arrangement very wise. The family is provided with food during the sickness of the man, and after his death the woman will soon have another man so she can quietly remain in her house. She will not have to spend the time catching other men around the village and neglecting her children.

562 593 837 For the women things go differently. A good wife is supposed to tolerate her husband having sexual relations with her unmarried sister or with her daughter from a previous marriage. If a woman likes her sister's husband or her mother's husband, both of them, i.e., the two sisters or the [614] mother and the daughter, can become that man's wife. Women, however, are not supposed to show, and in fact do not show, the same tolerance if the husband has an affair with a woman [578] belonging to another clan. When this happens, it is considered a direct offense to the wife's physical appearance, her 593 ability in making love, and her cooking. It is also better 837 for the man to stay away from the married sisters of his wife. 602 835 Their husbands are the people with whom he stays in continuous contact. They live in the same house, they are his companions in fishing and hunting, and the peace of the fam-

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837 ily and the normal economic routine would be disrupted by
835
602 internal conflict resulting from such a love affair.

There is no obligatory sororate among the Bororo, though
587
606 the sororate is more frequent than the levirate. When the family of a deceased woman likes her husband very much, they try to keep him by offering to him in marriage the younger sister of the deceased. The girl's mother then goes to see his parents, taking as gifts some dishes she has made for the occasion. She explains that her family wants to keep him
[585] in the house. The new wife also prepares some dishes and cigars that her husband will take into the men's house and offer to his brothers. This is not a special procedure, but
[43] the usual one after any marriage. The small retribution in food and cigars is given by the husband to the men from his moiety to compensate them for the loss of an available sexual partner.

582
593 As a conclusion to this discussion of Bororo marriage, there are few things that I would like to point out. The formula that the Bororo sometimes use (see page 82) when a girl is given in marriage shows that the Bororo conceive the ideal husband-wife relationship on the model of the parent-child and cross-sibling relationships. This balance between cross-sibling and spouse solidarities is further attested by
591 the Bororo residential pattern. Uxorilocal residence requires a man to leave his natal house and make his economic contribution to his wife's lineage. However, the multiclan, multivillage arrangement of settlements does not require that

/135 cont./

added room, and the woman, and thus the maternal family, remains the owner of this contiguous part of the building.

Karl von den Steinen observes in this respect (o.c., p. 501): "The young wife remains with the children in the parents' house. The young husband only spends the night in this house and during the day lives in the men's house, if he is not hunting. The young couple has a fire for themselves, the grandmother sits a little apart with the grandchildren. It continues thus until the grandparents' death. The grandmother nurses, when the young wife goes hunting with the husband or when she is looking for palm nuts in the forest; 'they always still have milk, when the daughters marry.'"

Other characteristics of the so-called maternal family are evident from the following indications of the same explorer /136/ (o.c., p. 502): "The women of the quarters (the girls in the men's house) received from their lovers arrows with long bamboo points. Each one handed over two, and the young woman took them, having squatted, with an indifferent expression. When I was present once, I counted 18 such love arrows for one girl. They are handed to the brother or to the mother's brother." The destiny of these arrows gives, then, an idea of the property relationships within the maternal family.

Also interesting in this respect is the custom according to which, an ounce having been killed, the skin is handed over "to the brother of the woman recently passed away or to the uncle of the man recently passed away" (von den Steinen, ibidem). It is supposed that this uncle is a brother of the mother.

Finally, one of the most important signs of the maternal family: "It was always as a natural protector of the woman that her brother presented himself to us" (von den Steinen, ibidem).

/158 cont./

764 As Tiago Aipobureu told me, there exists even today
[462] the custom that the women prepare the food for the
[252] funeral feasts, which is taken by the lads to the men's house, completely closed, and consumed there by those present. According to the tribal tradition, the dead one also participates in this banquet. But the sincere Tiago Aipobureu added: "The women know, however, what really happens there, although they pretend not to know. There are always men who tell them everything."

796 Both sexes of the Bororo take part in the majority of
562 the songs and dances; it is true, however, that on these occations the female sex always has a secondary role.
273 According to Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 491), men and women get drunk without distinction, with the wine obtained from the acuri palm.

562 /159/ The position of the sexes is also evident on the
765 occasion of death. As among almost all the tribes of eastern
171 South America, among the Bororo too the closer relatives
603 of the dead man of woman, especially the widower or widow,
302 cut the hair.

765 The following passages of the account by Karl von den
[309] Steinen are characteristic of the behavior of a widower (o.c., p. 505).: "Coqueiro in his hut, made cuts on his arms and legs, which became covered with scabs of coagulated blood; and in the afternoon there took place the solemn destruction of the goods of the dead woman, said better, the goods of her family, which had lived in the same hut as she. -- After this (o.c., p. 508): "Coqueiro arrived with a child by the hand. He sat down silently at the side,
[301] he sobbed and wept. He did not have any adornment besides the black rope around his body, which he had spun and interwoven out of his wife's hair. His cheeks were wet with tears; he pressed his eyes as if the weeping
[431] were painful." -- And finally (o.c., p. 510): "Coqueiro remained with nothing. The friends made bow and arrows, presenting them to him."

8:Kozák C-6 (ca. 1964) 1983
SF6 Bororo SF6

114
128

Mr. Kozák, of Brazil's University of Paraná, has visited many of the Brazilian Indian tribes. This report was prepared in collaboration with Dr. Robert L. Carneiro, Assistant Curator of South American Ethnology at The American Museum, and Dr. Gertrude E. Dole, a Lecturer in Anthropology, New York University.

All the villagers gather

round the corpse and sing funeral songs throughout the night to the accompaniment of the monotonous and rhythmical sound of gourd rattles. 764 [534]

The next morning, while a few young men are busy digging a temporary grave near the men's house, the kin of the deceased gash themselves as before, leaning over the covered corpse so that the blood will flow onto it. Laceration of the arms, head, breasts, and legs is repeated many times during the subsequent weeks of funerary rituals. As another gesture of mourning, the nearest kin tear out some of their hair, while more remote relatives cut their hair short. Thenceforth, the mourners' hair is left uncut until the mourning period of a year or longer is over. [152] [304] 765 [602]

When the temporary grave has been dug in the plaza, the body is interred so that it lies less than a foot below the surface of the ground. At frequent intervals, quantities of water are poured on it to hasten decomposition. 764

To sustain themselves during the ensuing weeks of exhausting rituals, the Bororo lay in large stores of food. During the early stages of the funerary ceremony the men catch great quantities of fish. A lake near the village supplies them with *jaú*, a huge member of the catfish family, which sometimes attains a weight of 150 pounds and which the Bororo shoot with bows and arrows. 765 226 [262] [136]

Smaller fish are taken in rivers by drugging them with timbo, a vegetable poison obtained by crushing certain vines. Timbo stupefies or kills fish, but does not affect the quality of the flesh for human consumption. (The active ingredient in timbo is rotenone, now widely used in this country as an insecticide.) For this operation the men build a weir across a stream. The fish try to escape the poisoned water through a chute in the weir. As they pass through, they are caught in large nets, then dried and smoked over a low fire, furnishing several days' food for the entire community. [278] [251]

[p.41-A]

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

by a teammate, who, as he in turn tires, is relieved by a fresh teammate, and so on. The race is so exhausting that no rituals are held the next day. 526 [764]

When the rituals are again resumed, they continue with undiminished variety and vitality until the repertory of dances is completed. Then, early one morning, about a month after the initial burial, the skeleton of the deceased, now nearly free of flesh, is disinterred. A few men take the bones to a nearby swamp, wash them without ceremony, and carefully remove all the remaining flesh. 765 [535]

After being washed, the skull is set by a small fire to dry. When thoroughly dry, it is put into a basket with the other bones and carried back to the village, escorted by a procession to the accompaniment of cane flutes and gourd trumpets. [534]

As the procession approaches the village, it is met by the nearest female [602]

[p. 46-B]

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

relative of the deceased, who shoulders the basket and carries it to the men's house. As she sits outside the house, holding the basket in her lap, the other female kin of the deceased once more gash their arms and breasts, and allow their blood to run onto the basket. The men once again shake their gourd rattles and sing the songs and lamentations they intoned at the time of death.

MEANWHILE, several men begin to decorate the skull, which is placed on a newly woven mat resting on the jaguar skin. After smearing it with resin, they press red, blue, yellow, and white feathers on the surface in a traditional pattern. Women may witness the decoration of the skull; in fact, while it is being adorned, they spill the blood from their fresh mourning wounds on it.

The other bones are decorated with urucú and bands of feathers, and

[p. 46-C]
[text continues on p. 48-A]

/502 cont./

836 548 contentedly. She lay beside her preferred man, entirely at ease under the red coverlet, and both were cracking palm nuts. One day we saw Moguyokuri goading the young men to adorn Maria, who was so wild in the wrestling bout and now so humble. Six of them immediately pounced on her and painted her.

The ranchão women were given arrows with long bamboo points by their lovers. Each one presented two, which the girl accepted, squatting, with an indifferent expression. Once when I was present, I counted 18 such love arrows for one girl. They [602] are delivered to the brother or to the brother of the mother. [851] The ranchão girls no longer marry an individual; if there are children, all the men of the ranchão with whom she has had intercourse are regarded as the fathers. These are entirely regulated [561] conditions which result from the superior power of the older ones; [439] they possess and receive from the girls who are handed over to the men's house, and on whose account they may reach an agreement, a regular income of arrows or ornaments, such as, for example, the suspender strings, which are also considered 838 payment. Pederasty is said to be not unknown in the men's house, but to occur only if the shortage of ranchão girls is unusually great.

224 We have already seen how well regulated property conditions are by the circumstance that the hunting booty does not remain 768 in the hands of the one who captured it. It is a great loss for the family when a member dies. For everything that was used by the deceased is burned, thrown into the river, or packed into the bone-basket, so that he will under no circumstance have occasion to come back. The hut is then completely cleared out. [431] The survivors, however, are presented with new things; bows [825] and arrows are made for them, and custom has it that when a [602] jaguar is killed the skin is given "to the brother of the woman who has most recently died or to the uncle of the man who has 593 most recently died." The brother of a woman was always 436 pointed out to us as her chosen protector. Arrows are the most important object of value; they are given to the brother /503/ of the ranchão girl or to the jaguar killer; they are the equivalent of tobacco and cotton in barter.

/517 cont./

802 The numbers go according to the pattern of the Bakaïrí: 1, 2, 2..1, 2..2, 2..2..1, 2..2..2. 1 is called mito; 2, pobe. If these appear in the following number expressions, however, they are given additions from which we can separate out the third person pronouns ema and au (this). In the 3 there is still the negation bókua, bokuáre: pobéma áu metúya (also metía) bokuáre, and it seems to mean: here I have 2, there no more than 1. 4 pobéma aúgüre pobe, here two, there also two; 5 pobéma aúgüre pobéma áu metúya bokuáre; 6. aúgüre pobéma aúgüre pobéma aúgüre póbe. With grains they made the little heaps of twos exactly as among the Bakaïrí, and they likewise consulted their fingers each time. My wish to learn the number words was always and without exception interpreted as meaning [602] that I wanted an enumeration of their relatives. The person concerned struck himself on the chest, said "I," and counted mother, father, girl, boy, with or without the addition of 1 and 2, assigning a family member to each finger. Whether the fingers as such have names of relatives I was unable to learn; at first I believed the thumb was mother, but I became confused about this /518/ because each person said something different and referred to his particular family situation. This was quite obviously their chief interest in counting. I therefore imagine the development here, too, to be that they designated a number of persons on their fingers, using demonstratives or pronouns, which, after all, amounts to the same thing to start with, and that the limit for 2 was set, not on the hand, but on the objects by breaking one thing into two parts, this calculation was transferred to their fingers. /Chapter XVIII, pp. 519-521, is omitted in the translation. Page 522 is blank./